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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Oracles are Dumb

ISABEL PATERSON

Why the South Likes Lausche

JONATHAN MITCHELL

Seven Rules for Foreign Aid

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

L. BRENT BOZELL · WILLMOORE KENDALL · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · SAM M. JONES · PATRICIA McDONOUGH

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from WASHINGTON straight

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

GOP Senate Chance

Republicans have a fighting chance of gaining one and perhaps two Senate seats in Kentucky. Former Representative Thurston Morton is expected to oppose the incumbent Democratic Senator Earle C. Clements. Ambassador John Sherman Cooper is to be drafted for the Republican nomination to fill the vacancy created by the death of Alben Barkley. Eisenhower lost the state in '52 by 700 votes, while Cooper won by 28,000. GOP chances are improved by the current Democratic primary fracas between Senator Clements and Governor "Happy" Chandler, which involves a feuding legacy from last year's gubernatorial fight. Control of the Senate could be decided on Kentucky's "dark and bloody ground."

"Who did what...."

The political razzle-dazzle that marked the farm bill from the outset may have the paradoxical effect of killing it as a campaign issue. Just a few weeks ago it was the one great conflict upon which the Democrats based their prime hopes in critical Midwestern states. Today, the credit, if any, for trying to help the farmer is on the Administration side of the ledger. But the Democrats turned down the President's proposal to advance 50 per cent against next year's payments for turning land into the soil bank. In the last analysis, prices for commodities next fall will probably weigh heavier with agricultural voters than any political oratory of the "who did what for whom" variety.

Beef Gravy

Cattle grazing land was made eligible for soil bank payments up to $50 million under the House revision of the farm bill. Strangely enough the cattle industry did not ask for this "giveaway," and most cattle growers believe it would be virtually impossible to enforce compliance.

Air Shock

Washington was shocked by the testimony of General Curtis E. LeMay in which the Strategic Air Force Commander disclosed before a Senate subcommittee that only 78 B-52 jet-bombers have been produced to date and that 31 of these were rejected because of faulty components. Members of Congress are being deluged with mail from constituents demanding fast action on the President's request for funds to accelerate air power production schedules.

"Poisoner!"

Some California observers believe Adlai Stevenson stirred up a hornet's nest by accusing Vice President Nixon in his home state of "poisoning" four California elections with slander. Nixon's friends predict that Stevenson's attack on the California electorate will boomerang in the June first primary.

Changing Odds

Public interest is turning toward the dark horses in the Democratic steeplechase. Among the front-runners, Harriman is believed to have moved forward in recent weeks, but the Stevenson-Kefauver-Harriman contest has less popular appeal as another contingent comes up the back stretch. Symington of Missouri and Johnson of Texas are moving fast, and three Governors are hard on the heels of the Senators—Leader of Pennsylvania, Meyner of New Jersey, and Lausche of Ohio.

Gentleman's Agreement

Among the tacit understandings between party leaders was a gentleman's agreement that the Bricker Amendment (in its evolved form) would be called up for action in this session. This agreement seems to be going out the window (along with others), thanks to Administration pressure and to some Democratic Senators who did not want to take a stand on a record vote.

Divide and Rule?

A wrecking crew under the guidance of ADA Chairman Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., and AFL-CIO Vice President Walter Reuther is bent on forcing conservative Southern Democrats to knuckle under or get out of the party. The ADA would welcome the nomination of Harriman or Kefauver or accept Stevenson philosophically. But Rauh recently declared that if Lyndon Johnson or Governor Lausche were nominated, "the probabilities would be that we would sit out the election." Reuther is said to have a preference for Governor Mennen Williams but could be expected to go along with Harriman or Kefauver.

SS

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly at Orange, Conn. by National Weekly, Inc. Copyrighted 1956 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc. Second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:
211 East 37 St.
New York 16, N.Y.
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RATES, Twenty cents a copy, $7.00 a year, $13.00 for two years. Foreign, $9.00 a year; Canada, $8.00 a year.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

The WEEK

Since it became independent, Burma has been governed by a party headed by U Nu, who is an avowed Socialist and neutralist. Socialism and neutralism, we are often told, are the purest means of coping with the threat of Communism. *Item*: in this month's election in Burma, the Communist vote was tripled.

Richard Nixon is the man the Liberals like most to disapprove of these days. The investigation of Murray Chotiner, California lawyer and sometime campaign manager for Nixon, for influence-peddling sees the Liberals so excited at the possibility of committing a little guilt by association against Nixon that they are dropping stitches all over the place. To be sure, there is no evidence of any kind that Nixon was even aware of Chotiner's approach to two White House aides. What is going on is a smear, pure and simple. (There is no evidence whatever of Nixon's implication in any of the allegedly improper activities of Mr. Chotiner.) It is interesting to note that the majority of the news stories on Chotiner credit the Californian with having advanced the political fortunes of Nixon and Knowland, both *non grata* with the Liberals. But they make no mention of Chotiner's long-time affiliation with Chief Justice Warren, Untouchable.

Earlier this month the State Department gave the umpteenth performance of its popular play, *Please Tread On Me,* with Ceylon as guest star, and the usual cast. Synopsis of the plot: *Act I.* State Dept. postpones $5 million grant to Ceylon under pro-Western Prime Minister Kotelawala. *Act II.* K. is defeated by Popular Front under anti-Western Bandaranaike, who becomes Prime Minister. *Act III.* State Dept. signs $5 million grant. *Act IV* (following day). B. demands that British abandon their Ceylon naval and air bases.

The French Government, after prolonged debate, voted to increase old-age pensions and extend paid vacation time—and, of course, to raise taxes. The extra tax burden, coming as it does on top of France's heavy financial commitments in Algeria, will touch off a new inflationary cycle, and may even cause panic. The times recall France's last "social security"

binge, ushered in by Leon Blum. The hangover was war and defeat, and the moral disintegration from which France has not, as witness recent events, recovered.

It is interesting to note that what brought Khrushchev to his feet at the now famous Labor dinner in London, screaming imprecations on his hosts, was Laborite George Brown's remark to the effect that Khrushchev's 22-year-old son exhibited none of the independence of thought characteristic of young English people. "Interference in a family's affairs is even worse than interference in another country's internal affairs," Khrushchev, the isolationist, roared out. This atavistic exhibition of a prehistoric, pre-Leninist attitude about the integrity of the family unit may get Khrushchev into trouble one of these days.

Aneurin Bevan laments England's dissipation of its limited supply of steel on "airplanes that cannot fly," and "weapons we shall never be able to use." As things now stand, with the scarcity of steel, "if the Russians place orders with us for the production of large numbers of machine tools and Diesel engines and all the other things, we shall not be able to supply them because we have not got the steel." But how does Mr. Bevan know that Soviet Russia will not use England's steel for airplanes that *do* fly and weapons that *are* designed for use?

Soviet cartographers plagued with insomnia are sure these days to be counting Stalin place-names instead of sheep. The USSR is studded with Stalingrads, Stalinos, Stalinsks, Stalinogorsks, Stalinskoyes, Stalinabads and even Stalin-mountains. A situation which, now that Stalin, Joseph is *non grata*, brings on the insomnia in the first place. In the interest of desperate Soviet mapmakers, the Formosa *China Post* is running a contest to find suitable replacements. Surely the soundest measure would be to change Khrushchev's name to Stalin, in which case the map of the Communist world could remain unchanged. We can think of other reasons why this is an appropriate suggestion.

Mr. K. L. Wilcox of Waukesha, Wisconsin, has written the Agriculture Department as follows: "I have a lot in Waukesha measuring about 80′ x 80′. How much will you offer me not to plant wheat on this lot? I also have another lot which is 40′ longer than the above mentioned lot. For a limited time only—if you act fast—I will not plant wheat on this larger lot for the same price that I will not plant wheat on the smaller lot. P.S. I note there is a surplus of peanuts. Since I like peanuts better than wheat, please have your records show that I am not planting peanuts.—K. W."

Riesel

The announcement that Victor Riesel would never see again drew dramatic attention to the fact that the role of the crusading journalist is not safe, and not over. So many corporate voices of overlorded journalistic exhibitionism speak out melodramatically about their courage—say the *New York Times* talking about its valiance before Senator Eastland, or the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* about its heroism in the teeth of gang-ridden exurbanites—that the tendency is to forget that genuine courage does exist, that it exists in individuals, not corporations, and that it exists, in some cases, in the fullest measure.

The measure of Victor Riesel's heroism lies in the fact that he was engaged in exposing two elements in our society which he *knew* to be capable of this kind of retaliation. He *knew* that the labor racketeers against whom he inveighed, and the Communists whose plans he was so constantly frustrating, were uninhibited enemies. For some labor racketeers, acid has become a conventional weapon, and Victor Riesel knew this. For Communists, murder itself is merely one among alternative means of accomplishing a particular objective. Victor Riesel knew this too. It was his knowledge of the nature of the most pressing enemies of our society in context of our ignorance and apathy with respect to the enemy, that animated Victor Riesel's crusade, that crusade which, finally, struck one of his enemies as unendurable.

It is possible that the assailant was not a hired mercenary of Communists or racketeers, but it is unlikely; and every finicky district attorney in New

York and civil-rights specialist in the country, in his heart, knows so. We are a society committed to the presumption of innocence, and no one will or should be hauled up and imprisoned merely because he happened to be the object of one of Riesel's critical columns in the days that preceded the assault. But we can at least serve notice on racketeers, labor and Communist, that their days are numbered, and proceed to move in, under shelter of the law and social sanction, to strip them of power.

Let us put it categorically: if those who devoted so much of their time in recent years to liberating society from the dangers of McCarthyism will devote one-tenth the time to rooting out the acid hurlers, they will win an easy victory—in exchange for which Victor Riesel, a man of courage and dedication, will be glad to have given his eyesight.

Foreign Aid: Principles

The Administration currently seeks congressional approval of an eleventh installment of the foreign aid series that has already turned the page on $54 billion.

We here state the principles upon which we believe congressional decision should be based. Next week we shall apply these principles—relevant to every foreign aid proposal—to major questions specifically at issue in the Administration's present bill.

1. A government has no right to dispose of the property of its citizens, except as their prudent, responsible steward and in their palpable interest. A government has no obligation, moral or political, to give aid to other governments.

2. The best and only mutually beneficial form of foreign aid is private investment, trade, and travel. The usual effect of government aid is to impede the healthy development of private trade.

3. On the evidence of the past decade, massive foreign aid, indiscriminately given, drains the nation that gives it without any compensating gain in relation to the country that receives it.

4. Government aid should never be given if private initiative (either economic or charitable) can be brought into action. In general, this principle tends to limit government aid to situations directly or indirectly involving military security, or to exceptional circumstances comparable to those of our own revolution when we received government aid from France, Spain and Holland.

5. "Unconditioned aid" is both immoral and inexpedient. In return for any foreign aid in any form we should insist on a quid pro quo: if not a contract for financial repayment, then some other type of economic, political or strategic recompense—better trade and investment conditions for American business; the right to a needed harbor or air base; support of agreed international objectives; whatever may be relevant, but always something specific and something unquestionably to our own interest. We should impose and enforce as conditions such anti-Soviet embargo and boycott policies as are provided in the Battle Act or comparable acts of the future. Far from antagonizing other nations, this insistence on an honest quid pro quo—because it treats other nations not as beggars but as political equals who have something valuable to give in return for what they receive—will promote mutual respect.

6. The problems of military security are highly technical, and difficult to evaluate in financial terms. A particular air base in a foreign nation might be worth, from one standpoint, *all* our wealth, if it happened to be the key to our survival. It is therefore harder to lay down rules for foreign military than for foreign economic aid. But we should at least take care to give no military aid unless it promises to increase our own military security.

7. Some legitimate foreign aid projects may indeed take many years to realize. But all projects should be subject to annual congressional check from the sole legitimate point of view: their continuing service to our own national interest.

8. All proposals to have the UN handle our foreign aid appropriations should be rejected as inimical to American interests. UN distribution would enmesh our resources in the stultifying UN political jungle, where we could neither control their use nor assure any resulting benefit to the U.S.

9. Congress should insist on *full* information concerning the successes and failures of foreign aid extended in recent years, as a prerequisite to passing foreign aid bills for the future.

Seven Rules for Foreign Aid

I. The best form of foreign aid: private investment, trade, and travel.

II. No "unconditioned aid": foreign aid is justified only when we receive in return a definite quid pro quo—economic, political, or strategic.

III. Priority in foreign aid allocation to firm friends and allies; withdrawal of aid from those who give comfort to the enemy.

IV. No military aid unless it undeniably increases our own military security.

V. No long-term foreign aid commitments.

VI. No U.S. foreign aid distributed through the United Nations.

VII. A continuous check by Congress on foreign aid results.

The Right to Conclude

The federal courts continue to move in on Congress' right to investigate, and now the challenge is to Congress' right to draw conclusions from its investigations. (Such conclusions, it should be remembered, do not have the force of law, and no one suggests they should.)

Most recently, the Methodist Federation for Social Action succeeded in persuading a District Court Judge to forbid (pending a public hearing) the printing of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's handbook, *The Communist Party of the U.S.A.* The handbook lists the Federation (which is not officially connected with the Methodist Church) as a Communist front (which, by the way, it is). The Federation contends that the classification deprives it of life, liberty and property without due process.

If the Court of Appeals upholds the lower court's palpable foolishness, Congress will have lost the right to conclude anything about anybody that anybody doesn't like to see concluded about himself—e.g., that the gas and oil lobby behaves arrogantly; that gambling interests in Chicago control two local hotels; or even, we suppose, such ineluctable conclusions as that our judges increasingly demonstrate their incompetence.

Supreme Question-Begging

On April 30, five and one-half years after the Attorney General, under the terms of the McCarran Act, instituted action against the Communist Party before the Subversive Activities Control Board, the Supreme Court by a majority of 6 to 3 handed down its long-awaited decision. The Board had ordered the Communist Party to register as a Communist-action organization, after exhaustive hearings establishing the Party's revolutionary character, and had been upheld by the Court of Appeals. The only serious question left to the Supreme Court to decide was whether the Act itself is constitutional.

With bland irresponsibility, the majority of the Court refused to consider the constitutional issue. But it returned the case to the Board for further action—on the grounds that one of the 22 witnesses against the Communist Party was Harvey Matusow, and that two others, Manning Johnson and Paul Crouch, have been accused by the Party's attorneys of perjury.

In the case of Matusow, all indications are (and lower courts have so concluded) that his perjury was committed not in his testimony against the Party, but in his recantation. In the cases of Manning Johnson and Paul Crouch, the only support for the accusation seems to have been the vicious campaign against them which the Liberal press has been conducting for some time now, perhaps as condign punishment for Mr. Johnson's testimony against Ralph Bunche and Mr. Crouch's against Robert Oppenheimer.

It is an astonishing decision; and one can only agree with Justice Clark who, in a sharp dissent in which he was joined by Justices Minton and Reed, confessed that he had been unable to find "any case in the history of the court where important constitutional issues have been avoided on such a pretext . . . never before have mere allegations of perjury, so flimsily supported, been considered grounds for reopening a proceeding . . . If all or any part of the act is unconstitutional, it should be declared so on the record before us. If not, the nation is entitled to effective operation of the statute deemed to be of vital importance to its well-being at the time it was passed by the Congress."

Judicial Tyranny

If the action of the Supreme Court has been atrocious, the manner of it has been no better. The Court has rushed into politics. Their cunning chief led the van, and plank by plank laid down a platform of historical falsehood and gross assumption. The decision is entitled to just so much moral weight as would be the judgment of a majority of those congested in any Washington bar-room. It is a mere collation of false statements and shallow sophistries, got together to sustain a foregone conclusion.

If there is not aroused a spirit of resistance and indignation, which wipe out this decision and all its results, then indeed are the days of our Republic numbered. It was left to the Supreme Court to complete the utter subjugation and extermination of all that remained of the protesting voice of liberty. The moment the Supreme Court becomes a Court of injustice, a Court to carry schemes of oppression against men, by forced constructions of the Constitution, that moment its claim to obedience ceases, its decisions cease to be binding, and impeachment, not obedience, belongs to it.

The moral authority and consequent usefulness of the tribunal, under the present organization, is seriously impaired, if not destroyed.

The joke is over. These are not "hysterical" denunciations of recent Court decisions by "right-wing fanatics" or "Southern racists" or members of the irreconcilable Right. They are extracts from editorials that appeared in March 1857, after the Supreme

Court's Dred Scott decision. They were published in three New York newspapers: the first paragraph is from the *New York Tribune;* the second, from the *Independent;* the third, from the *New York Post.*

Three Bows to Mr. Meany

Since George Meany took office as chief of the combined AFL-CIO there have been a number of occasions when he has deserved the congratulations not only of labor but of the public. Three more have recently been added:

1. Mr. Meany's scornful critique, both before and after, of Walter Reuther's belly-crawling in India.

2. His unflinching stand in compelling the Teamsters Union—largest in the Federation—to back away from the proposed deal with the defiantly racket-dominated International Longshoremen's Association.

3. His clearheaded pressure against the effort of the Communists, under their new United Front policy, to worm their unions back into the Federation through tempting merger offers. Under Meany's stern eye, James Carey's International Union of Electrical Workers has rejected the overtures of the Communist-led United Electrical Workers. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters, who had agreed to a June unity convention with the Communist-flavored United Packinghouse Workers, have raised strict new conditions, calculated to block Communist infiltration, should the merger go through.

Recommendation to the State Department: Why not ask Mr. Meany to serve as an occasional consultant, in order to balance out, say, Paul G. Hoffman and Harold Stassen?

Caprice

A book club devoted to the needs of "the Independent Thinker" recently proclaimed its indispensability in a full page ad in the *New York Times* Sunday book section. As one has come to expect in the Newspeak of Communism, words take on a very special meaning when put to special use. The best-drilled army of political robots in the world is addressed as "independents." "Skepticism," "freethinking," and "nonconformity" are the words used to describe the writings of such disciplined sycophants of tyranny as Ring Lardner, Jr., Herbert Aptheker, Howard Fast and Joe Starobin. The book club itself, devoted to the cause of world slavery, is called—of course—the "Liberty Book Club."

Now the editors of the *New York Times,* in addition to exercising their own discretion as to what news is fit to print, also decide what goods are fit to advertise. But it is not clear by what standards they arrive at fitness (any more than it is clear in the field of news).

A few weeks ago, for example, the *Times* refused to accept an advertisement of Lee Mortimer's *Around the World Confidential,* a book in which Mr. Mortimer attempts to establish a connection between internationally organized crime, Communism, and vice. Presumably because the *Times,* though against vice, saw in the Mortimer treatment of it a certain cynical prurience, space was refused.

Yet it is not possible, from this action, to spin out a principle that guides the *Times* on books that discuss vice. A few years ago, the *Times* sold as much space as Madame Polly Adler saw fit to buy, to advertise an autobiography describing the happy life and adventures of a bawdy-house-keeper. And many other books, whose appeal was patently based on lubricity, have coyly hustled for readers in the columns of the *Times,* blending into the environment almost imperceptibly; never, never seeming to laugh in church.

The *Times* owes its readers a rational explanation of its conduct. That it will continue to publish "all the news that's fit to print" tells us nothing if the arbiter of what is fit to print—or advertise—is capricious and unpredictable.

As Simple As That

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg, renowned for the valiant effort he has made over the years in behalf of Free China, recently testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on the Foreign Aid Bill. With characteristic pithiness, he described the failure of American public relations abroad:

"Mr. Chairman, I was a high-school boy in 1900 when the election was won by the proponents of 'Manifest Destiny,' or, as the opposition called them, 'the Imperialists.' In spite of that decision, eighteen years later, without further argument, we had reversed ourselves. The road to empire was abandoned by tacit consent of all. Since then, we have wholly or in part conquered France, Belgium, Holland, Iceland, Denmark, Luxembourg, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Algeria, Tunisia, Burma, the Philippines, Japan and Korea. We have set them all free.

"Since then the USSR has wholly or in part conquered Georgia, Armenia, Tannu Tuva, Mongolia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Korea, China, Indo-China and Austria. It has freed only Austria.

"With this forty-year record neither the world, nor American publicists, nor the Voice of America, seem familiar."

The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Thoughts on Our Absent Discontents

The Liberal propaganda machine (we were saying a couple of weeks ago) is "playing possum"; that is, blending itself into the environment by pretending to want the same kind of America other people want. They are behaving this way, we reasoned, because they have become aware that the intellectual climate has shifted against them.

Recently, for example, we found two "Thank God's" in a single issue of the *New Republic*—in two different articles moreover, and with "G," not "g," both times. Recently also, Max Ascoli, in the editorial columns of the *Reporter,* was having at Mr. Eisenhower and his friends for too often invoking the Almighty in political utterances: not on the ground that America is a secular nation, or even on the ground that there is no God there to invoke, but on the ground that they are cheapening the vocabulary of religious discourse. And to clinch the point: even in the *Nation,* we have recently seen not merely sentences but whole paragraphs and even now and then an entire page that, with a little blue-pencilling (for the sake of elegance rather than of orthodoxy) might conceivably have appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW!

We must not, however, exaggerate the meaning of this change, or be taken in by it. My point is not that the Liberals have learned something, but that they are saying the kind of thing they would be saying if they *had* learned something; not that they are giving up, but that they seem to be going underground. (As for giving up, they will do that only on the day when the last molehill of privilege has been steamrollered level with the plain, and when the last refuge of privacy has been transformed into a television studio; in short, never.)

It will, of course, take the machine a while to settle down to its new function. Predictably, there will be an intervening period during which Liberalism's master minds will be giving thought to the details of the new posture. Fortunately, some of this thinking will be done out loud, as the master minds write and publish articles on this or that variant of the problem "Why we must play possum now," and "How do we play possum convincingly?" I have before me, from the talented pen of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in the *Reporter,* the first of these articles, together, if you please, with a vigorous dissent thereto by Editor Max Ascoli, both published under the heading "A Debate" — thus inviting bulletin-type headlines in the anti-Liberal Press ("Two Prominent Liberals Find Something to Disagree About").

Schlesinger's variant of the problem boils down to this: why must there be a "new Liberalism," and what shape shall it take? I suggest we hear him carefully on both points, noting, as we proceed, how very harmless he sounds compared with the Schlesinger we have all known and admired in the past.

First, about the "climate." There are, Schlesinger contends, "millions of people in this country who are satisfied with things as they are"; and there are "other millions who are dissatisfied with things as they are and feel that government can do much more to equalize opportunities and benefits." But in between these two groupings (which without explanation or apology he equates with the Republicans and Democrats respectively) there are twenty-five million voters, "middle voters" as he calls them, who for the most part "live in tolerable economic circumstances, are not particularly mad at anybody, and *do not respond very strongly* to the rhetoric [i.e., propaganda] *of the liberalism of the 1930's*" (a less adroit writer would have lumped these people in with the millions who are "satisfied." In a word: the climate has shifted against the old Liberalism and there aren't enough people who "respond" to it to make it very fruitful.

Second, how did this state of affairs, which he terms the "irrelevance" of the old Liberalism, come about? Schlesinger is a little hard to pin down about this, but what his argument boils down to is that "liberalism," addressing itself as it did to the discontents produced by "poverty and reaction," has run out of discontents to address itself to. The new Liberalism "can hardly hope to persuade people who do not feel themselves mistreated that they are, in fact, the slaves of an economic tyranny." In a word (as Schlesinger will learn to put it when he's had more practice at playing possum) capitalism delivers the goods and has been delivering them throughout the period which people take into account in judging it. People know it is working well, and telling people that it is not working well has, naturally, ceased to be a promising trade. So the thing to do is to make noises like those once associated with the NAM: "Here," writes Scheslinger, "is a nation richer than ever before, and getting richer every moment. . . .Our gross national product rises; our shops overflow with gadgets and gimmicks; consumer goods of ever-increasing ingenuity and luxuriance pour out of our ears."

Third, as to the new Liberalism's strategic problem, and the light it throws on our phrase "playing possum," and its unavoidable implication of bad faith: The problem, pretty clearly, reduces itself to that group of "middle" voters who, though they are too prosperous to think of themselves as slaves and are therefore unlikely to respond to the rhetoric of old Liberalism, show every evidence (Schlesinger assures us) of "internal anxiety and discontent." In other words, they *are* discontented, whether they know it or not. The problem of the new Liberalism, accordingly, is to "identify" the "sources of the discontent"; and this, unless I mistake Schlesinger's intention, must mean, to manufacture overt discontent where it does not now exist, so as to build up electoral strength for a new redistributive assault on the status quo.

In short: change the climate, so that the Liberals can get on with the job. But, as that will take time and as, meanwhile, there is nothing much else to do, play possum.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Tydings Bets on Anti-Anti-Communism

Ex-Senator Millard Tydings' victory in Maryland's Democratic primary sets the stage for an incendiary campaign in the Terrapin State—and, more important, a campaign that may go a long way toward answering the question: Has anti-anti-Communism finally taken hold with the United States public?

Tydings lost his Senate seat in 1950, everyone seems to agree, because Maryland voters believed he had presided over a disgraceful whitewash in the famous Tydings Committee investigation of Senator McCarthy's charges of Communist infiltration of the State Department. Tydings, of course, wants a personal vindication; partly for that reason, but mostly because he believes it to be sound political strategy, he has decided to wage his comeback campaign on precisely the issue that defeated him in 1950.

Tydings is convinced that the public temper on the Communist issue has mellowed. He confidently assumes that Maryland voters will be moved more by the charge that Tydings was victimized by the smears of anti-Communists than by the incontrovertible evidence that the Tydings Committee gave a clean bill of health to dozens of individuals who, even by then-current loyalty-security standards, presented a clear threat to the nation's safety.

From all indications, the battle is definitely on. Incumbent GOP Senator John Marshall Butler—wisely or unwisely, but entirely in keeping with his proved personal dedication to the anti-Communist cause—is willing to stake his political future on an issue that many of his Senate colleagues consider, at worst hazardous, at best passé.

Butler is prepared to ask his constituents to consider not only his own Senate record, but that of Tydings during 1950; and this on the theory that Marylanders are perfectly entitled to infer future conduct from past conduct, however remote the latter may be. Especially is this so when the subject is belligerently unrepentant. Tydings, during the McCarthy episode, proved himself a talented political hatchet-man whose lack of scruples was every bit as impressive as his skill. He has done nothing in six years to suggest that, on the Tydings scale of values, it is not *still* more important to protect the reputation of the leadership of the Democratic Party than it is to protect the U.S. Government against Communist subversion.

Butler will be asking the manifestly relevant, if rhetorical question, whether Tydings has changed his views about Owen Lattimore, John Stewart Service, John Carter Vincent, Dorothy Kenyon, Esther Brunauer, Philip Jessup, Harlow Shapley, Frederick Schuman, Haldore Hanson, Gustavo Duran, William T. Stone, Oliver Edmund Clubb, Edward Posniak, David Zablodowsky, Stanley Graze, Herbert Fierst, John Paton Davies, Peveril Meigs and Robert T. Miller—all of whom Tydings wilfully and unambiguously cleared despite the fact that his committee was given full access to the adverse security data contained in their loyalty files.

Perhaps Tydings will be able to dodge *this* aspect of the 1950 campaign, which he is so determined to revive. But Maryland voters may be more sensitive to the Communist front than Tydings figures—in which case Senator Butler will deserve credit for dispelling the belief held by an increasing number of Republican politicians that hard anti-Communism is bad politics.

Basic Southern Weakness

The chances of a Southern revolt at the Democratic National Convention never were very good. Now, after Governor Shivers' defeat in Texas, a general rebellion appears out of the question. Shivers' failure to maintain control over his state's party organization has severely demoralized the third-party movement throughout the South—which is precisely the result Democratic national leaders had in mind when they persuaded Senator Johnson to challenge the Governor.

The point is not that the Texas vote can be taken as representative of Southern sentiment; the segregation problem never has been as urgent or as exciting to Texans as to the rest of the South. The point is rather that both Shivers and Texas were needed to prevent a convention walkout from assuming the status of a completely parochial, pro-segregation gesture by the Deep South.

Over the past months, the principal obstacle to mobilizing a Southern revolt (aside from the inability of the more realistic Southern politicians to convince one another of what the revolt, even if it could be brought off, would prove) has been the lack of a leader of national stature. Of the three men who seemed to fill the bill—Allan Shivers, James Byrnes and Harry Byrd—only Shivers appeared remotely receptive to the job of heading a splinter party. Moreover, Shivers' flair for dramatizing states rights *principle* promised to give a third-party platform a believably broader base than mere pro-segregation. And most important: Shivers would bring Texas into the rebel camp—an indispensable condition for mounting a revolt of significant proportions.

That Governor Shivers' defeat should loom as a death-blow to Southern third-party hopes underscores the basic weakness of the South's political position. Southerners, for some months now, have been urging other conservative Americans to rally with them around the "States Rights" standard. But Southern leaders have given the impression that, with very few exceptions, they rediscovered states rights about the time of the Supreme Court segregation decision—the implication being that they will forget about states rights when and if the segregation issue is resolved. The impression is reinforced by the fact that most Southern Democrats have, in the past, supported the New and Fair Deals. This causes many Northern conservatives to view the current states rights movement somewhat cynically, and thus prevents the movement from becoming anything like a "crusade." Without inspirational attributes of general appeal, no political movement in history has ever gotten off the ground.

The Oracles are Dumb

How wise are the atomic scientists who think they are entitled to guide society? Not very, proves Mrs. Paterson—out of their own mouths.

ISABEL PATERSON

On the release of the document known in brief as the "Gray Report,"[1] it was front-page news. Editors snatched from 992 large pages of fine print (with no index) the items of pressing interest for the next edition. They did as good a job as could be expected. But the immediate news value was the least interesting element of the Transcript.

What remains is the first authentic glimpse of our modern oracles, the scientists, caught unaware in their habit as they live, as they see one another, and as they see themselves. It is perfectly fascinating. Also it is sometimes extravagantly funny, macabre, and provocative of pop-eyed amazement. The scientists are reported as animated by intellectual excitement, devotion and patriotism, and a desire to take part in history. The latter prospect has become slightly clouded by speculation whether or not they have left us a chance of any future history; but in case they haven't, we may as well be edified right now.

The formal cause and outcome of the hearing are well known. It was a question of the clearance of Dr. Oppenheimer for "access to restricted data, as provided by the Atomic Energy Act of 1946." As the date shows, this Act was passed after the atom bomb had been produced at Los Alamos under the supervision of Dr. Oppenheimer. The Board was obliged to consider information laid before it, citing Dr. Oppenheimer's association with Communists and "left-wing" groups; and naming persons—rather a startling number of persons—of similar background, who had been employed on the atom bomb project, some of them in charge of the most "restricted data." And finally, the attitude of Dr. Oppenheimer toward the project of the hydrogen bomb was reviewed. The hearing was held at the request of Dr. Oppenheimer. He submitted a statement to the Board and answered freely a detailed interrogation.

I believe Dr. Oppenheimer's account of his own actions, motives and views. Yet it is hard to see how the Board could have arrived at other than an adverse decision, without flatly repudiating the objective standard for clearances. Indeed, the whole Board might have credited Dr. Oppenheimer's account, and yet by that very account might deem him lacking in adequate discretion.

Odd Explanations

In the hearing, as in much public discussion, an odd argument was made on behalf of scientists and "intellectuals" generally.

Dr. Edwin Norris Bradbury (Director of Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory since 1947) explained: "A scientist wants to know," he has "curiosity about facts, about systems, about life . . . willingness to explore other areas of human activity." (How that agrees with an obstinate ignorance of the visible realities of Communism is not apparent.) Dr. Bradbury continued: "It is unfortunate that the number of objective examples which one has of, let us say, people who are disloyal, is extremely small." (I'm sure he didn't mean exactly that). "In every case these people seem to have been drawn from a certain type of background in which at least some degree of interest in liberal, left-wing or Communist activities was a part." True enough. And Dr. Bradbury concluded sadly: "I have to admit a complete failure to understand Mr. Fuchs," the scientist who was an active Communist and a spy for Russia at Los Alamos.

Dr. Lee Alvin DuBridge explained the Communist associations of Dr. Oppenheimer: "These were rather natural associations of a person who had strong human interests, interests in human rights and human liberties." Reminded that the Soviet Union is a dictatorship, Dr. DuBridge replied with innocent wonder: "It is rather a curious situation that the most active verbal opposition to Hitler at that time came from the Communist Party." Evidently Dr. DuBridge remains unaware that gangsters don't even stop at verbal opposition to competing gangs; they are always ready to take their rivals for a ride. Dr. DuBridge continued: "It is now obvious to all of us that this was a piece of hypocrisy, since their own (Russian) regime was a dictatorship all the time. I think, however, in the early 1930's it was not so clear as it is now that the Communist Party in the United States was really a part of the Soviet Government apparatus." Anyone who ever tried to clarify the mind of an "intellectual" of the 1930's on the matter of Communism would like to know how it could have been done, when neither evidence nor reason availed.

Dr. John von Neumann, of the General Advisory Council of the AEC and the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, explained: "The fact that people who looked all right might be conspirators and might be spies . . . we were not prepared to discover these things in 1943." One is driven to the wild surmise that Dr. von Neumann expected conspirators and spies to wear proper labels. He did note that Fuchs was "rather a queer person"; still he "was surprised that a spy had been so well placed." That is, placed where there was something to spy on.

Dr. Norman Foster Ramsey of

[1]The official title: "United States Atomic Energy Commission. In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Transcript of Hearing Before the Personnel Security Board. Washington, D.C., April 12, 1954 through May 6, 1954."

Harvard (and formerly of Los Alamos) explained: Around 1938, at Harvard, "There was a group of, I guess, about ten people or so who were indeed members of the Communist Party . . . This was a high and idealistic group of people, completely foolish in my opinion, naive and stupid, to have gotten into it, but nevertheless they were a very high-minded group." That should give you a working notion of what is meant in academic circles by the terms high-minded and idealistic. Dr. Ramsey explained Prof. Wendell Furry by name: "Furry had been for really a fantastically long time a member of the Communist Party." Professor Furry took the Fifth Amendment. "He is, I am afraid, on this kind of matter, not too bright a fellow." How high-minded can you get?

Asked if he thought himself a good judge whether or not a man is a Communist, Dr. Ramsey replied in words which belong to the ages:

"I would say yes; I think on the following, I mean since you were not trying to judge, you can guess some people might be and some were not. I don't think you can explicitly with someone you don't know terribly well as with all the ones I have enumerated, my conversation runs to maybe a total of four or five hours, I certainly would have had no claim with any ones enumerated would I ever have felt in a position of saying they weren't. I would not have been in a position to claim they were or were not. Simply I didn't know them well enough. I don't think ability to judge enters there. A person whom I never met I can't say anything. A person whom I met only casually, chiefly to talk about the physics problems, is no way to judge." (Thereupon Dr. Evans said: "That is all.")

Definition of "Hysteria"

We shall now hear some non-scientists.

Mr. John Lansdale, Jr. (who was "top security officer" for the atom bomb project) said: "You can hardly put your finger on a scientist or a university professor or people who tend to get into civic affairs, you can hardly find one anywhere now who is in his fifties or so, who has not been on at least one list of an association which was later determined to be subversive or to have leaned that way." (Dr. Evans thought that "overstretched.") Mr. Lansdale explained: "Associations in the forties must be viewed in the light of that atmosphere existing then."

But nobody explained why scientists and professors are to be specially excused for succumbing to an "atmosphere" instead of forming rational judgments. And nobody inquired whence that "atmosphere" emanated.

Mr. Lansdale went on: "I think that the hysteria of the times over Communism is extremely dangerous. I can only illustrate by another dangerous attitude which was going on at the same time we [the Security staff] were worrying about Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty . . . over in the War Department I was being subjected to pressure from military superiors, from the White House, and from every other place because I dared to stop the commissioning of a group of

fifteen or twenty undoubted Communists. I was being vilified . . . being reviewed and re-reviewed by Boards because of my efforts to get Communists out of the Army, and being frustrated by the blind naive attitude of Mrs. Roosevelt and those around her in the White House which resulted in serious and extreme damage to this country." (Would not that damage be a legitimate and important subject of inquiry?) "We are going through today the other extreme of the pendulum, which is in my judgment extremely dangerous." What is the other extreme of the pendulum—keeping Communists out of the Army? Don't jump to conclusions. Mr. Lansdale explained that the Board was "looking at events which transpired in 1940 and prior [probably he means occurred; they certainly didn't transpire then] in the light of present feelings rather than in the light of the feeling existing then." Whose "feeling existing then"—his own or Mrs. Roosevelt's?

But let us hear more from Mr. Lansdale: "By golly, I stood up in front of General McNary, then chief of staff of the Army, and had him tell me I was ruining people's careers and doing damage to the Army because I had stopped the commissioning of the political commissar of the Lincoln Brigade, and the guy was later commissioned on direct orders from the White House. The stuff that went on did incalculable damage to this country, and not the rehashing of this stuff in 1940. That is what I mean by hysteria."

You figure out what he meant by hysteria: I am stumped.

The *esprit de corps* of scientists bothered General Leslie R. Groves (head of the atomic project up to 1947) a good deal: "When I told Dr. Lawrence that I wanted a man gotten rid of, he [would warn me]: 'If I get rid of him . . . I want to warn you there will be no work done in this laboratory for at least a month, no matter what I try to do myself, and the effect may last for a year!"

However, the more personal relations of scientists are not always or entirely pervaded by sweetness and light. Occasionally they verge on the temper of "the row that broke up the Society upon the Stanislaw." Dr. W. M. Latimer explained: "One of the things that annoys a great many scientists more than anything else is the statement that he [Dr. Oppenheimer] alone could have built the A-bomb or carried on the program." Dr. Edward Teller expressed reservations on Dr. Oppenheimer's "wisdom and judgment." Professor David Tressel Griggs (chief scientist for the Air Force) said that he once had a run-in with Dr. Oppenheimer, during which "Dr. Oppenheimer said I was a paranoid." (Plain Language from Truthful James: "Now I hold it is not proper for a scientific gent / To say another is an ass, at least to all in-

tent.") Dr. Jerrold R. Zacharias confessed that he and Dr. Luis Walter Alvarez "have never been fond of each other." Dr. Zacharias went further in referring to Professor Griggs: "Let me say rather informally that it is a bit of a pity that duelling has gone out of style." Asked, would he question the veracity of Professor Griggs, Dr. Zacharias said flatly: "Yes, I would."

Dr. Vannevar Bush deserves to be quoted as follows: "I feel that this bill of particulars is capable of being interpreted as placing a man on trial because he held opinions, which is quite contrary to the American system, which is a terrible thing . . . We have been slipping backward in our maintenance of the Bill of Rights." And sideways on our syntax.

Quite Imitative

The opinions of Dr. Oppenheimer of which the Board took cognizance pertained to the project for the hydrogen bomb. The underlying problem really reached back to the inception of the atom bomb.

Dr. John von Neumann said: "We were all scared to death that the Germans might get the atom bomb before we did. We found out later that they had somewhat neglected this area." In fact, the Germans had done nothing of practical value. Nor could they, in the condition of Germany then. Scientists seem unable to perceive the working relations of economic and political organization, although these are primarily matter for scientific knowledge, being relations of physical forces. Conditions in the United States permitted the making of the atom bomb. A few scientists didn't like the idea of it, on moral grounds; but, as Dr. Oppenheimer explained, "When you see something that is technically sweet, you go ahead and do it, and you argue what to do with it only after your technical success." But he said also, "We always assumed that if they [the bombs] were needed, they would be used," and *"We wanted to have it done before the war was over and nothing more could be done."*

At the same time he said he did have "terrible moral scruples" about dropping it on Japan. On the other hand, Dr. Alvarez (who rode the observation plane when the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima) said "the laboratory wanted to have some method of testing the effectiveness of the bomb over enemy territory." And Dr. Vannevar Bush asserted: "That bomb was delivered on time, and that means it saved hundreds of thousands of casualties on the beaches of Japan . . . so that there was no necessity for any concessions to Russia at the end of the war." Nothing was said of the attempt of Japan to negotiate for surrender, before they knew about the bomb. Nor did anyone explain why enormous concessions *were* made to Russia after the bomb had been used and the Japanese had surrendered unconditionally. (The Board, of course, had no authority to pursue such questions as these; but witnesses had more latitude, as they were testifying of opinions.)

Dr. Vannevar Bush

On the cessation of active war, two major problems arose. First, how soon could any other nation, especially Russia, be expected to produce an atom bomb? Second, was it advisable for the United States to make a great effort to devise a hydrogen bomb?

General Groves said that Russia didn't seem to appreciate the effect of the A-bomb at Hiroshima until after Bikini, when *"the Russian observers who were there against my wishes"* got ashore again at San Francisco and went to the Russian consulate. And within twenty-four hours the attitude of the Russian delegate at the UN "changed completely." Maybe the great bureaucracy had been simply filing the spies' reports and ignoring them!

Until 1949 the two major problems hung fire, with much talk, according to Dr. Oppenheimer, of "international control of atomic energy," though "nobody knew what was meant by international control." (For Dr. Oppenheimer's information: it means nothing whatever.) "Then everybody was kind of depressed the way people are about the atom."

General Groves testified further: "Of course we knew about the uranium ore in Joachimsthal. We never conceived that the whole area would be turned over to the Russians as they pleased and to be able to mine on the basis they were. I don't know whether it was paid for by the American labor." The implication is horrifying. What American labor?

In late September of 1949, it was announced from Washington that Russia had exploded an atomic bomb.

The atomic physicists were surprised. They hadn't expected it so soon by several years.

Dr. Edward Teller said that he called up Dr. Oppenheimer, who advised him: "Keep your shirt on."

Dr. Oppenheimer said: "I believe that the [Russian] atomic effort was quite imitative, and that made it quite clear that their thermonuclear work would be quite imitative. . . . Suppose we had not done anything about the atom during the war. I don't think you could guarantee that the Russians would never have had an atomic bomb. But I believe they would not have had one nearly as soon as they have. . . . We thought that similar circumstances might apply to the hydrogen bomb."

Grounds for Belief

Finally, in his book, *The Open Mind,* published in 1955, Dr. Oppenheimer writes under date of 1953: "It has recently been said officially . . . that it [Russia] has produced three atomic explosions, and is producing fissionable material in substantial quantities. . . . This is evidence which could well be evidence of what the government of the USSR wants us to think, rather than evidence of what is true. . . . I think that the USSR is about four years behind us . . . and that the scale of its operations is not as big as ours was four years ago [1949]. This is consistent with the facts known to us. *It has not been proven by them, by any means.*"

Yet in the same book, Dr. Oppenheimer finds it "disturbing" that an

ex-President (Mr. Truman) "can publicly call in doubt all conclusions"; and he finds it "shocking" that this doubt "is compounded by two men," one a "brilliant officer who was in over-all charge of the Manhattan District," and one "a most distinguished scientist who headed one of the great projects of the Manhattan District." Does not Dr. Oppenheimer's own statement call in doubt all conclusions? Or what is signified by the words "not proven."

Dr. Edward Teller said that to him and to very many others "the GAC report meant this: As long as you make minor improvements . . . you are doing a fine job, but if you succeed in making a really great piece of progress . . . that is immoral." He thought that the feelings of people, presumably the scientists engaged in research for the H-bomb, "in consequence turned more toward the thermonuclear development than away from it." Question: "You mean it made them mad?" Dr. Teller answered: "Yes." Comment is superfluous.

Dr. Bush said: "The H-bomb is of great value to Russia, much greater than to us." (Presumably he means in respect of targets.) Dr. Bush also said that the first test explosion of the H-bomb was "of advantage to Russia" but apparently he meant for political purposes.

In any case, on January 29, 1953, the President announced that the H-bomb program would go ahead. A "brilliant discovery" by Dr. Teller put the program "on a sound basis."

Dr. DuBridge could recall no further argument within the Committee. Asked if he was still opposed to the development of the H-bomb after the President's decision, Dr. Oppenheimer said: "No."

Dr. Rabi explained that in late spring of 1951, "we really got on the beam."

Mr. Marks, of the Board, asked: "Why did it take that long?"

Dr. Rabi answered: "Just the human mind."

Question: "There was the President's directive in January 1950."

Obviously something needs to be done about the human mind, if it doesn't function instantly on the President's directive. But that is a mere intellectual failure. Mr. Truman

(*Continued on p. 16*)

Arizona

Arizona Republicans, Despondent Six Months ago, are now Showing Fight

SAM M. JONES

Arizona, the baby state (admitted to the Union in 1912), has growing pains. Not only has there been an unparalleled rise in population; there is also a revolutionary wrench away from original political ties. It is still a small state politically, with perhaps a million and a quarter residents, including Indians and naturalized Mexicans. But Arizona is a big state physically, in resources and in its concepts. Its citizens are not content with the old-fashioned dependency which once made Arizona an adjunct of the Democratic Deep South.

Full political maturity may be some distance away, but since 1950 Arizona has unquestionably been a two-party state. The old Democratic pattern was fractured in 1950 by the election of Howard Pyle as Governor, and two years later it was smashed when Arizona elected Barry Goldwater to replace Ernest W. McFarland in the United States Senate. Pyle was re-elected Governor at the same time, and another non-political newcomer, John Rhodes, won one of the state's two congressional seats.

In the Democratic comeback of 1954, McFarland defeated Pyle in the gubernatorial race, but Rhodes was returned to Congress. And the overwhelming Democratic majority in registration continued to recede as immigration and conversion steadily increased Republican enrollment.

On my visit to this state six months ago, Republican hopes were at the nadir. No candidate had then been found to oppose McFarland in the gubernatorial contest; none to challenge the veteran Carl Hayden in his bid for re-election to the Senate. Most GOP spokesmen admitted to private doubts that they could carry the state.

Today the Republicans still realize they are in the minority, but there is a new fighting spirit among them, largely attributable to the efforts of Barry Goldwater.

In addition to electing fourteen delegates and fourteen alternates to the Republican National Convention the recent Arizona GOP state convention also named a national committeeman and committeewoman to replace retiring Clarence Budington Kelland and Mrs. Margaret Rockwell. James C. Wood, former state chairman, succeeds Kelland and Mrs. Emory Johnson takes Mrs. Rockwell's post.

Although there was no public demonstration for any candidate, influential party leaders are believed to favor Horace Griffin as a gubernatorial nominee and former Attorney General Ross Jones as the candidate to oppose Senator Hayden. Griffin has long been associated with the state's most widely circulated newspapers, the *Arizona Republic* and the *Phoenix Gazette*. The Republican candidates are admittedly the underdogs in contests with such veterans as McFarland and Hayden, but a reinvigorated Republican Party is not conceding anything.

One cause for GOP optimism stems from the record of the McFarland administration and the Democratic Legislature. The record, in brief, contravenes campaign promises, shows a heavy increase in appropriations and (Republicans charge) a 64 per cent rise in the tax rate.

By and large, however, Arizona Republicans are looking to Goldwater and Eisenhower to pull rabbits out of the hat. It will be no easy task. At this stage it is hard to predict whether it comes within the range of possibility.

President Eisenhower's chances of recapturing the state look somewhat better than they did last fall, largely because of public apathy toward all of the front-running Democratic candidates. In this state, Lyndon Johnson or Stuart Symington would probably be much more formidable than Stevenson or Harriman. Kefauver has a large popular following but will stand little chance on the professional level when the Democrats hold their state convention later this month. The delegation to the Democratic National Convention is expected to be divided, with no candidate having a majority.

An Asian Manifesto

In Manila, March 9 to 12 of this year, the Second Asian Anti-Communist Peoples Conference met and exchanged views on World Communism, with special emphasis on the menace of Communist aggression in Asia. Delegations were present from Free China, Hong Kong, Korea, Macao, the Philippines, the Ryukyus, and Vietnam. The following excerpts from a Declaration by the Conference are taken from Free China and Asia *(Taipei) of April 1, 1956.*

THE EDITORS

In view of the Communist Imperialists' aggressive designs on Asia and in the light of the Asian peoples' urgent needs, we venture to make the following recommendations:

1. We hold that all Communist regimes in Asia are puppets, satellites, and means of aggression of the Russian Imperialists. We must unite together and use all our strength to pull down the Iron Curtain and overthrow the puppet regimes in order to restore the peace and security of Asia. We hereby reiterate our stand: to support the Republic of China in the recovery of the Chinese mainland and to unify the Republic of Korea and Republic of Vietnam with a view to destroying all the puppet regimes of the Russian Imperialists in Asia and restoring freedom to the enslaved peoples.

2. We hold that to recognize the fruits of aggression would be not only to betray justice, but also to encourage aggression. We therefore support the Republic of Korea for the dissolution of the armistice supervisory commission, and the Republic of Vietnam for her opposition to the valueless Geneva Agreement of July 20, 1954 and to its final declaration of July 21, 1954, and for her just demand not to hold a nationwide election before North Vietnam is freed from Communist control. We also solemnly declare that we are firmly opposed to the admission of any puppet regime to the United Nations. We are especially opposed to the admission into the UN of the puppet Peiping regime which has been condemned by the United Nations as an aggressor, and of Outer Mongolia which is a rightful part of China but is, for the time being, also a Soviet puppet.

3. We hold that to hold any talks or conferences with the Russian Imperialists or their Chinese puppets [is] not only useless, but also injurious to the morale of the free peoples . . . Therefore, we not only wish to see an immediate end of the current talks between the United States and the Chinese Reds, but are also strongly opposed to any further talks or conferences with the Russian Imperialists or their satellites.

4. We hold that what the Communist Imperialists respect is only the armed might of the free world. They are forced to resort to the smiling offensive and make a tactical retreat, mainly because the free world has become more resolute and more united. We must retain and defend every inch of free territory. All foolish attempts to appease the Communists and to compromise with them must be firmly opposed.

5. We hold that the free world's embargo against the Communist bloc is not only a defensive measure to prevent strategic materials from falling into enemy hands, but also an effective weapon against our common enemy. We not only advocate the strict enforcement of the present embargo, but are also opposed to all suggestions or measures for its relaxation which the international appeasers are trying to bring about.

6. We hold that there is no room for the continued existence of Western colonialism . . . As to Red colonialism which seeks to enslave the Asian peoples and [is] more oppressive than Western Imperialism, we should not only be on our guard and regard it as our greatest enemy, but also cooperate with other democratic countries to destroy it root and branch.

7. We hold that if the collective security arrangements in Asia or the Western Pacific do not become more active rather than passive, and if they are not re-enforced by the participation of other Asian nations with the necessary determination and armed strength to resist Communist aggression, they will remain weak and cannot lead to much practical result.

8. We hold that the ultimate aim of Communist Imperialism is the conquest of the whole world and the enslavement of all humanity. In the face of the common enemy, all free peoples, irrespective of race, geographical region, nationality, religious belief, or occupation, must rally around the anti-Communist banner, call a global anti-Communist conference, and create a world anti-Communist league . . . in order to defeat and destroy the Communist Imperialists.

Freedom is Indivisible

The unity of the Asian peoples under the banner of freedom will be a sign that they are awakening to the common danger and taking steps to save themselves. It will also mark the beginning of the end of aggression before the mighty force of the freedom-loving peoples of Asia. By taking concerted action, we shall launch an anti-Communist campaign among all Asian peoples. We welcome all Asian peoples to join with us and take part in our organization. We shall be especially glad to work hand in hand with all anti-aggression friends all over the world and fight, shoulder to shoulder with them, the Communist Imperialists. . . .

We are convinced that Asia and other parts of the world are indivisible. We Asian people are ready to cooperate with any other nation on a basis of equality for the anti-Communist cause. More than anything else, we shall work to build up Asia, after the downfall of the Iron Curtain, into a free, democratic, and peaceful continent which will contribute its share to world prosperity.

We are further convinced that freedom is indivisible. The Asian peoples cannot forever remain half free and half slave. There can be neither the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" nor that of a "neutralist course." There is only one great enemy, Communist Imperialism. There is only one path for us to take, unity under the anti-Communist banner. There is only one objective, union of all anti-Communist forces in Asia and elsewhere in the world to exterminate Communist aggression and restore freedom to all Asian peoples so that they may never be enslaved again.

Why the South Likes Lausche

A report on the Democratic South's bold bet: a Northerner, son of immigrants and a big-city politician who distrusts all government

JONATHAN MITCHELL

When the Democratic Convention meets next August in Chicago, the single candidate with a touch of political greatness will be Frank J. Lausche, Ohio's five-time governor. On the record, he would make the best President in many years; under his restless, skeptical, hesitant, but determined leadership, the United States might change the drift of world events. There is an off-chance that the Vice-Presidential nomination may be pressed on him; very little that he will get first place on the ticket. For the Washington bureaucracy, represented at Chicago by Joseph L. Rauh's ADA and Walter Reuther's labor cohorts, will prove immovable.

Lausche's status as a dark-horse candidate is due chiefly to a few words of endorsement last October by Senator Russell of Georgia. For reasons unfathomable to those born north of the Mason-Dixon Line, Russell stirs intense emotion in Southern breasts. Southerners look at him, and see the ghostly form of Lee; they listen, and hear the far-off voices of Calhoun and Clay. Russell is taking no part in the pre-Convention maneuvers, and may not even go to Chicago as a delegate, but other Southerners volunteer to explain the South's feelings.

Lausche has made no move to get delegates outside Ohio; not a single Southerner is formally pledged to him, but in a warm and secret sense he is the South's special candidate. He has never had a Washington job. As Governor of Ohio, and earlier as Mayor of Cleveland, his relations with Washington were dim. He is the only major Northern Democrat conspicuously free of the Washington taint.

My informants were working politicians, and in their time have wangled large amounts of federal money for their Southern states. Yet their talk showed they looked on federal grants as booty, not assistance. Washington was an alien power, as alien in a way as Moscow, and submission to an alien power was unworthy and evil.

At one point, our talk swung away from Lausche to Governor Shivers' fight against Senator Johnson and Speaker Rayburn for the Texas delegation. Here, I suggested, were Southerners against Southerners. Their reply was that Lyndon and Mr. Sam had insensibly become Washington men. They had had to accommodate themselves, as Senate Majority Leader and Speaker, to the Washington bureaucracy. They had fellow-traveled with the foreigners, and like all who expose themselves to dubious associations, were become security risks.

More an Antique Roman

Lausche shares the Southern resentment against Washington, but in his case the resentment extends to all bureaucracies, large and small. The Washington men are the worst, but in his book politicians in office are everywhere hostile agents.

Lausche first held public office as a Cleveland judge. He was hardly seated before he had embarked on a one-man war against Cleveland's gambling syndicate. Later, he warned against loan sharks. Throughout these crusades, it was openly implied that Cleveland's political authorities had failed in their duty, that they had permitted the voters to be preyed on by sinister forces. As an elected judge, Lausche had, of course, himself become a politician. But his behavior was that of the ancient Roman tribune, whose office in its original form presupposed that governmental authorities were either tyrants or rogues.

The Cleveland Democratic organization apprehensively ran him for mayor in 1941. Fulfilling its fears, he broke with it almost at once on a good-government issue. For fifteen years now, he has had no truck with the Cleveland, Ohio, or national Democratic organizations. Almost invariably a politician who breaks with his party organization turns briskly to building a personal one. Ohio experts have spent much time searching for occult relationships that would explain Lausche's power, and have verified none. He is still the uninhibited tribune. And except for a single defeat in 1946, he has been riotously re-elected.

The Bent Twig

The Southerners' discontent with Washington comes from ancestral voices and the recent Supreme Court decision on segregation. Lausche's motivation is less obvious and precise. On the bent-twig premise, a good guess would be the early influence of his Slovenian parents, who took ship in the fierce conviction that America was better than Austria-Hungary, of which Slovenia was then a part, and that what made it better was the opportunity it offered individuals to develop their abilities and to boost their children up the social ladder.

The apparently decisive moment with Lausche came when, just after World War I, his mother persuaded him not to become a professional ballplayer at handsome wages, but to turn instead to law clerking. In the period after the 1929 crash, when New Dealers were parroting Lord Keynes' dictum that ours was a "mature economy" and opportunities were closed, the Lausche family, with Frank a lawyer and another son a doctor, was making a prodigious leap upward. Lausche's election as Mayor of Cleveland in 1941 neatly coincided with the start of the economy's still-continuing, explosive boom. In Lausche's family life and public career, America fulfilled the hopes of his parents.

Paradoxically, the abler a conservative executive, the less he will have to show in sweeping extensions of

governmental authority, and massive brick and mortar. The "achievements" of Governor Mennen Williams, across the line in Michigan, are as numerous as Aunt Sally's petticoats. Lausche's are few. His apologists sometimes plead that he has had Republican legislatures to deal with; that with friendly legislatures he might have done more. But this is to overlook his deep skepticism of all governments, even one he himself heads. During the recent scrimmages over the farm bill in Congress, Lausche continually fretted to his visitors. Ohio is an important corn-and-hog state, but the Governor's mind was not on the farmers. He was thinking of the Washington politicians. In his opinion the bill was a scandalous attempt to buy votes in November, and an example of how Washington is undermining America. Few political professionals have felt as Lausche does about their trade.

The "Lamp-Lighters"

The voters who have elected and re-elected Lausche in Ohio are not ordinary Ohio citizens, but extraordinary ones in humble places: those who wish to be allowed to make their own way and advance their children. The city of Akron has just shown who some of these people are.

A while back, the United Rubber Workers forced on the rubber companies a 36-hour week. Its purpose was to make sure that no matter what advances towards automation the companies made, there would be jobs for union workers having seniority. Akron has now returned to a 40-hour week. The reason the 36-hour week had to be abandoned was the growing number of "lamp-lighters"—men who, under assumed names, were working a second 36-hour shift in other plants. Part of the 36-hour agreement had been a prohibition of well-paid overtime; the union had thus set a rigid limit on what a man could do for himself. Rather than submit, the "lamp-lighters" had been working a 72-hour week.

It is people like the "lamp-lighters" who, unknown to one another, form the invisible Lausche machine—and, incidentally, explain why the slavering opposition of Reuther's CIO has actually contributed to Lausche's political strength.

The Southerners' feeling towards Washington, and Lausche's towards all political coercion, have the same substance. Political coercion is the issue they together will represent at the Chicago Convention. Since Mr. Sam will be the Convention's chairman, with the right to recognize or ignore speakers, that issue will not be debated, which is a pity. The Liberals ought to be forced to debate, and to admit in what contempt they hold human nature. For what is the argument for the Liberals' social justice and welfare state, if it is not that the Southern whites and Ohio "lamplighters" require the Washington bureaucrats' distant whip in order to live decently and to help their brothers?

The Issue Is Liberty

The Southern whites and the "lamplighters," say the Liberals, are hard, egoistic, concerned with their own interests. But it is precisely those who manage their own affairs who, in all human experience, have taken responsibility for others. How do the Liberals suppose the private Negro schools and colleges of the South came to be built? Some, it is true, were gifts of hard, egoistic Northerners, but a very large number are the life monuments of dedicated Southern whites. Do the Liberals think Booker T. Washington was supported by grants of a Washington alphabetical agency? Or that, in the North before Roosevelt, ill or aged factory workers were left to lie in the streets?

The Washington bureaucracy, 2.4 million strong, functioning in 2,000 agencies and bureaus and spending $60 billions-plus in tax-money, produce admirable statistics. These tell us, down to a fraction of a person per 10,000 of population, how many Americans are miserable. But what they don't, and can't, tell is whether, in the days before such statistical series were set up, Americans were any the worse off. The miserable, at all events, were then cared for by those who loved them, which was good for both sides.

On whispered orders from the ADA and the union hotel suites, Lausche's candidacy will be kept from a real test on the Convention floor, and the issue he and the Southerners stand for, which is individualism, local self-government and liberty, will be burked. If the ADA and the labor tycoons offer explanations to their captive delegates, they will foreseeably not explain on moral grounds. The delegates will be told that only a welfare-state candidate can win, and the leaders will point to President Eisenhower's theft of the Democrats' welfare-state clothes in the current budget, and to the "me-too" campaigns of Dewey and Willkie.

The argument is impressive, but if it has validity, what about Lausche's five victories in Ohio? Indeed, why should those victories not be given the greater weight? In no Presidential election in a generation have the voters had a clear choice between welfarism and the rights and obligations of liberty. In Ohio, they *did* have that choice, and a mixed and typical body of Americans took Lausche.

THE ORACLES ARE DUMB

(*Continued from p. 13*)

as an ultimate arbiter of ethics, whose fiat silences argument, is nonetheless an awe-inspiring spectacle. Especially if he didn't really believe the Russians had any atom bomb.

Twice the Board urged Dr. Rabi, "If you haven't got any memory, say so." One might demur timidly. The most fallible mortal would rather not avow that he hasn't got *any* memory. Anyhow Dr. Rabi recalled Dr. Oppenheimer's "real, positive record . . . We have an A-bomb and a whole series of it . . . and what more do you want, mermaids?" The natural impulse is to reply, no, no; but on second thought, mermaids wouldn't be so bad.

The unhappy Chevalier-Eltenton incident, with its indication of espionage, is omitted here, being so well known by Dr. Oppenheimer's frank narrative in the hearing. Especially his explanation why he fabricated what he himself called "a cock-and-bull story" which he told to the Security officers. Why? "Because I was an idiot."

For me, that avowal clinched it. I do believe Dr. Oppenheimer's acpenheimer's account in full. I would believe almost anyone concerned with the bombs, on the same grounds.

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

A School Superintendent Battles Pro-Communists and Pettifoggers

Thomas E. Harney is the superintendent of public schools in a small town in northern New York called Dunkirk. It is not self-evident, Mr. Harney maintains, that it cannot happen here; hence he, for one, proposes to do everything in his power to expose native Communists, pro-Communists and party-liners, especially when they step over into his territory, which is education.

About a year ago, Mr. Harney entered into an extended correspondence with the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The NCCJ provoked Mr. Harney by urging on schools throughout the country a "Bibliography of Materials" relevant to the celebration of Brotherhood Week. The Bibliography enumerated certain books, magazines, and educational films most likely, in the judgment of NCCJ, to induce brotherliness. Notwithstanding, Mr. Harney served notice that he would not use certain items on the list — on the ground that they had been written or prepared by persons deeply involved in Communist causes.

He so informed the NCCJ, and entered into a spirited dialogue on the question whether, to cite a few, such well-known fellow travelers as Ring Lardner, Jr., Gene Weltfish, or Shirley Graham, deserved such disarming sponsorship. The NCCJ refused to argue the question whether these persons were Communist or not, confining itself to the assertion that the endorsed material was free of "any Communist line." "Our Editorial Committee and our Books for Brotherhood Committee," Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of the NCCJ, wrote to Mr. Harney, "has scrutinized all such material carefully and has found nothing [therein] of the kind of propaganda that you wish to indicate appears in the material." Mr. Harney replied, in effect, that anyone who took seriously exhortations on human brotherhood by Communists ended up legitimizing Communists, not promoting tolerance; and that, said Harney, the Dunkirk schools would never, ever do while he was superintendent. "To my mind," he went on to say to Clinchy, "there is an obvious inconsistency between your statement that you are always ready to fight Communists with every weapon at your disposal, and your actual practice of promulgating an aspect of the Communist line in promoting the works of Communist and Communist-front authors . . ."

The Pay-Off

In this fashion, as the opportunity occurs and according to their own lights, men and women throughout the country work to curtail the influence of Communists and fellow travelers. The illusion is sedulously cultivated that such activity, particularly in the hinterland, brings immediate and abundant rewards. The case of Mr. Harney versus the NCCJ has a happy ending; when the showdown came, he was upheld. But for his pains, he was subjected to a harassment of a kind that would gladden the heart of an anti-anti-Communist.

The tactics used against him are illuminating. Instead of arguing whether the Communist affiliations of a brotherhood catalyst are relevant to the question whether his material should be used in the public schools, the opposition ganged up to force Mr. Harney to submit a formal report on the cost to the town of Dunkirk of his extensive correspondence before a meeting of the Board of Education. The aim of his critics was, it seems, both to humiliate Mr. Harney by subjecting him to a discipline most normally exacted of suspected embezzlers, and to demonstrate to the citizenry that the cost of fending off books, magazines and films written by pro-Communists was inordinate.

Mr. Harney brought a tape recorder to the dramatic meeting. He took the opportunity to describe his position, and that of the NCCJ, in some detail. The tormenters were totally uninterested, or seemed to be, in the essential argument. "We don't have to listen to this palaver," said Mr. W. "I'm getting sick of listening to [you]." The talk turned to the cost of the correspondence.

Altogether, said Mr. Harney, he had sent out beween 75 and 100 units of correspondence, much of it mimeographed matter. The postage came to between four and five dollars, he said; the materials, between $3.75 and $5.00.

Mr. A. moved in. Were the letters originally written in longhand (i.e., had a school typist been used in the operation?) That question, Mr Harney, his back up, refused to answer. It was, he said, "immaterial, trivial, and irrelevant." Well, said Mr. A., given the fact that the material that went out was typewritten, somebody had to type it. Now was it typed on school time? Of course it was, said Mr. Harney, for it pertained to school business. Was it mimeographed on school time? Yes. On School Board stationery? Yes. With school postage? Yes. How did the letters go out? First class, most of them. How much does that cost? About five cents per item. Never any more? Yes, sometimes more—a registered letter, for example, and there were one or two of them. Has the report you submitted been sworn to? Yes.

And so on and so on and so on, question after endless question. All having to do with the few cents involved. But the efforts of Mr. A. and Mr. O. and Mr. W., and the faction they represented, were of no avail. They were simply unable to parlay the cost of Mr. Harney's crusade into a local scandal. Exhausted, they dropped it. A wave of resentment set in. A resolution was offered, commending Mr. Harney for his vigilance. It was passed, 6-3. Thomas E. Harney carried the day.

And can one hope that the National Conference of Christians and Jews was chastened by the experience? Are there so few who agitate in favor of brotherhood as to require, in the service of that cause, the utilization of Communists?

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

150 Drawings—But Out of This World

Exasperation, I realize, is no substitute for a coherent system of esthetics. Also, I've learned to count to ten before I utter a word about contemporary art: It's so easy to get trapped in the buffoonery of philistine judgments on modern art that one had better watch his language.

But how can an exasperated man avoid exasperation? I have just returned from an exhibition, "Recent Drawings U.S.A.," in New York's Museum of Modern Art. The effect was staggering. The heart aches more than the feet, the mind is considerably more stimulated than the eyes (though not necessarily the way the exhibited artists intended to stimulate) and my hunger for beauty was never less satisfied.

The Museum of Modern Art exhibits 150 drawings by 150 artists — purportedly the best 150 of more than 5,000 drawings by men and women from 46 states. No drawing, state the rules, may be older than five years, and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, III, acted as Honorary Chairman of the selecting Junior Council of the Museum of Modern Art. This, to me, looked fair enough, and I entered the exhibition with no fear and hardly any trembling. I left it in a state of bluish stupor.

The draftsmanship of the display, be it stated ahead of anything else, is impeccable; and the selecting pillars of our society, on the basis of their selections, qualify as buyers for wallpaper firms, any time. I had, in fact, throughout my feverish meanderings from one horror to the next, the constant feeling that most of these drawings would make excellent wallpaper for either bughouses or homes for the blind. Which, I hasten to add, is not a relapse into the philistine hilarity I am resolved to avoid at practically all costs. It is the honest and, it seems to me, pertinent statement a moderately trained onlooker has to make about his true sensations during hours of exposure to "select contemporary drawings."

Several of the 150 exhibits are indubitably mature and perhaps even masterful drawings. ("Times Square" by Albert Acaley of Brookline, Mass.; "Figures in Procession" by Gerald G. Boyce of Nashville, Ind.; "Sketch for a Deposition" by J. Burgess of Delmar, N.Y.; "Coney Island" by Jane Freilicher of New York; "Butterfly Hunt" by E. Powis Jones of New York; "Monaco" by Walter Kamys of Montague, Mass.; "Rural Composition" by Pietro Lazzari of Washington, D.C.; "Transplanting Rice" by R. G. Solbert of New York; "Procession" by Jack Zajac of Claremont, Cal.) And yet, there is not one moment when you respond to a piece of art with the stepped-up heartbeat of joy, the excitement of sudden recognition, the unreserved Yes of agreement.

The reason for this, I've decided after hours of brooding, is simply that there is not the faintest resemblance between my world and the world of these 150 artists. They all, or almost all, have severed their relations with the world that is created, sometimes jubilant, and always alive. They have moved into a do-it-yourself world where everything is either "demasked" or violated. In fact, they have moved into a world that is not just infinitely ugly but, above all, outdated.

Yes, as I turned with growing despair from one drawing to the next, I suddenly found myself transported back in time and space — back to the Europe of 1920 This was the mating time of Surrealism and Dadaism—two talented and sterile art movements which meant to *épater les bourgeois* but ended up fooling the artists. (The *bourgeois,* be it noted in parenthesis, rather had fun and made a lot of money on some of the Surrealists and Dadaists.)

The motive force of Surrealism and Dadaism was the unmitigated disgust of the artist with a society that had apparently deteriorated from the mere materialism of the nineteenth century to the insane acquisitiveness of the twentieth. (I do not say that this is what society *had* deteriorated to; I merely recall what the artist *thought* it had.) And so, driven to their excesses by a humanely important force, the Surrealists and Dadaists of 1920, in spite of all their pranks and puns and mischief, were serious. They were mutilated, but they were artists.

It has been, for a long time now, my contention that America catches Europe's maladies — *all* of them, alas — about twenty or thirty years after the Old World has recovered. It is like a subterranean wave that crawls, with maddening slowness, the bottom of the Atlantic and, in the age of jets, needs twenty or thirty years to cross the shrinking ocean.

Consider how this country, in the forties, was swept off its feet by Psychoanalysis (or, as Psychoanalysis has been called, the disease it purports to cure) just about twenty years after the brighter segments of Europe's intelligentsia had recovered from the Freudian trauma. Consider the Kafka binge on which America's *hommes de lettres* embarked about twenty-five years after the truly talented European writers had overcome this infatuation with an immensely sensitive and altogether secondary young man from Prague.

Now Surrealism and Dadaism have finally landed on the shores of America. The exhibit in the Museum of Modern Art is an authentic replica of the frivolous nightmare that fascinated Europe thirty years ago. It is still a strange growth, not necessarily malignant, but the *déja vu* of this situation makes one rather tired. "Not *again!,*" one feels like shouting. "Oh yes, here goes!," answer the 150 drawings on the walls of the Museum of Modern Art.

It may be art, but it is not modern. If only these talented and diligent 150 young men and women realized that nothing is more antiquated, and more boring, than a stale nightmare!

No, I do not insist that "art is beauty." I only insist that there *is* beauty, and joy, and exuberance, in the world. And I insist that an exhibition of 150 winning American artists which does not contain a grain of joy about being alive is antiquated cant and a snobbish deceit.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Premature Anti-Communist

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

When socialism was still an untried dream nobody paid much attention to the motives which brought people to its ranks. Those who were interested in freedom thought they could get along with the people who had a yearning for tidiness, or "planning." The natural-born anarchists thought they could manage the power hunters; the lovers of life feared nothing from those who were attracted to Marxism as a way of canalizing their pathological hatred of life.

The moment that socialism became a power system, however, it was written in the stars that the lovers of freedom, the natural anarchists and the yea-sayers, would suffer a vast disillusionment. If they had only come to their senses in a body, they might have gone on to form a new movement to provide themselves with a basis of mutual support. But those who came to socialism in search of freedom were impelled to quit one by one, in a ragged sequence which left each backtracking rebel feeling friendless and alone. The émigrés from the world of Communism have never had much power to help each other.

The main reason for this frustration is, of course, the nature of "liberal" society, which is profoundly influenced by Communist and fellow traveler gossip without knowing it. The Liberals have invariably picked off each rebel against socialism, giving ever-renewed currency to the myth that anyone who grows up sufficiently to change his mind is a black dog, or a "reactionary." They picked off Benjamin Stolberg in the early thirties, with Heywood Broun carrying out the hatchet job. They picked off Whittaker Chambers and others by sneering at their "instability," or by whispering innuendos against their "morals." And they knocked off John Dos Passos by averring that he had lost his skill as a writer.

In a curious book called *The Theme is Freedom* (Dodd, Mead, $3.50) John Dos Passos sets forth the fever-chart of his own disillusionment with Communism, and with socialism of any kind. This book consists of a series of old Dos Passos articles taken from books and the tattered back numbers of defunct or barely surviving magazines. In each case Mr. Dos Passos, who is the most honest of men, has left his original wording intact. But he has interspersed his old material with a new running commentary in italics. For the most part the new commentary endeavors to explain how the face of tyranny has changed over the years. In some cases it really has changed, and Dos Passos proves it; in other cases he was palpably the victim of his own shortsightedness about capitalism, a shortsightedness which he willingly admits whenever he recognizes it as such.

It will be extremely interesting to watch what the Liberals make of this book in the light of the Khrushchev-Bulganin repudiation of Stalin and the general Western European "socialist" rediscovery of the validity of the profit motive, as recently reported by Miss Barbara Ward in the *New York Times*. For Mr. Dos Passos, as it turns out, has merely erred by being "premature" in discovering things that virtually everybody else has since discovered. But even in their anti-Communism the Liberals are still affected by the stories which Communists have circulated. I doubt that I ever live to see the day when the latest breeds of anti-Communist have the decency to make amends to people like Benjamin Stolberg and John Dos Passos, who saw the Abominable Snowmen when it was really dangerous to see them.

Dos Passos originally got into the "radical movement" by way of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Part Portuguese in his own origins, he was drawn to the poor Massachusetts anarchists from the Mediterranean world who had obviously been "framed" during the anti-foreign hysteria of the early twenties. Dos Passos spoke of Vanzetti as sharing "the hope that has grown up in Latin countries of the Mediterranean basin that somehow men's predatory instincts, incarnate in the capitalist system, can be canalized into other channels, leaving free communities of artisans and farmers and fishermen and cattlebreeders who would work for their livelihood with pleasure, because the work was itself enjoyable in the serene white light of a reasonable world." If he were to write that over again, Dos Passos would leave out the crack about the capitalist system, for he now knows that men's "predatory instincts" can be "incarnate" in any system whatsoever. But for the rest of it Dos Passos would let his defense of Sacco and Vanzetti stand; he still thinks they got the rawest of raw deals.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case, however, opened Dos Passos' eyes to the nature of the Communists themselves: he watched them trying to use the martyrdom of the good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler to the ends of achieving total power for themselves in a radical movement that would ultimately have no use for anyone who distrusted the Big State. At first Dos Passos couldn't believe what he saw. But a trip to Russia in the late twenties increased his uneasiness. He kept trying to put off the day when he would have to make a personal decision, but his Russian expedition ended in a "real funk for fear they

wouldn't let me leave the last few days I was in Moscow . . . the last impression I came away with was fear, fear of the brutal invisible intricate machinery of the police state."

The disillusion with the Communists became complete when Dos Passos went to Spain during the Civil War to help work on a documentary film designed for propaganda uses in America. Just as Carlo Tresca had predicted they would, the Communists took over the shaping of the film. Dos Passos was horrified to discover that the Spain of "well-intentioned men" had no chance against the Fascists on the Right and the Communists on the Left. He returned to America with a will to believe in the New Deal, only to discover that Franklin Roosevelt had "ceased listening." A trip to England in 1946, when the Labor government was in power, completed the rout of all of Dos Passos' socialist opinions.

What bothers Dos Passos today is that socialism "has retained a sort of negative hold on the mind of the educated classes . . . that makes it hard to induce them to examine any divergent ideas." "Our college population," he says, "isn't exactly socialist, but its hackles rise if you try to clear any of the socialist preconceptions out of the way in order to discuss industrial society from some different point of view."

What Mr. Dos Passos has come up against is the great inertia of Liberal society. Though this society has blamed its petrification on a "terror" allegedly unloosed by Joe McCarthy, it had really stopped thinking long before Joe was ever elected Senator. Dos Passos tries valiantly to move this society, but it will have none of him because he is no longer certified as a Liberal himself. The Liberals do not stop to reflect that it was they themselves who withdrew Mr. Dos Passos' certification for no reason beyond the desire to propitiate a Communist force which everybody now professes to hate.

Inadequate Remedy

The Presidency Today, by Edward S. Corwin and Louis W. Koenig. 138 pp. New York: New York University Press. $3.00

Professor Corwin's new book repeats or condenses much of his earlier work, *The President, Office and Powers*. It is, nevertheless, a welcome addition to the literature of the subject. For better or for worse, the American Presidency is now so important that we need to be kept up to date about its character and meaning.

Professor Corwin is seriously disturbed at the current aggrandizement of the Presidency. "Should one man have available the immense powers that are today the President's for the asking—indeed for the taking?" Most Americans, he thinks "we may be sure," still want Congress to have an "important" role in our national government.

In Professor Corwin's view the aggrandizement in question is due to two principal causes: a series of crises over the last twenty-seven years, and the greater responsiveness of our Presidents, as compared with Congress, to the increasingly powerful urban and labor interests. Congress, he believes, has tended to favor rural and business interests. He has, however, no remedy to suggest except that Congress be "more readily available when need for important action arises."

In the light of the problem as Dr. Corwin himself presents it, the remedy appears inadequate. A legislative body is not well equipped to deal with emergencies. When "need for important action" arises suddenly, the Legislature can do little more than ratify the action proposed by the Executive. For if it disagrees with the proposed action it is virtually helpless. Professor Corwin himself reminds us of President Roosevelt's demand (September 7, 1942) that Congress repeal the parity provisions of the Price Control Act: "In the event that the Congress should fail to act [by October 1], and act adequately, I shall accept the responsibility, and I will act." Congress, faced with this ultimatum, duly repealed the parity provisions before October 1. Thus the fact that Congress was in session did not prevent a successful assumption of Presidential power to repeal legislation—that is, to rule by decree.

Although President Lincoln's extralegal acts—or war power acts—were in some respects more drastic than President Roosevelt's, the power of the President subsided in the long period of relative tranquillity from the Civil War to World War One, and again in the short period from World War One until the economic crisis of 1932. Now, however, we appear to have entered upon a period of permanent crisis, during which the Legislature is unable to resume its theoretical constitutional status.

I am myself not at all sure that a President could be prevented, in time of emergency, from accomplishing a coup d'état that would reduce Congress to a mere consultative body and indefinitely extend his own tenure. Our best protection against such development is, I think, self-restraint on the part of the President himself. Our Presidents have indeed magnified their powers; but they have been so imbued with the democratic tradition that, in the last analysis, they have been willing to defer to definite expressions on the part of the other branches of government and of the people clearly within their respective constitutional spheres. Thus President Truman promptly and unhesitatingly acquiesced in Congress' overriding of his veto of the Taft-Hartley Act, in the Supreme Court's decision that his seizure of the steel mills was unconstitutional, and in the election of President Eisenhower. There are compensations in having politicians as Presidents.

But what would President Roosevelt have done had he suffered similar rebuffs in the midst of World War Two? The danger will come, I think, if there is a major crisis during the tenure of a President fanatical in his devotion to his principles—or in his sense of self-importance. I am not—much as I should like to be—confident at all that having Congress "readily available" would save the day in such circumstances.

Professor Corwin's book contains interesting and valuable discussions of Presidential disability and Presidential primary elections. He does not, however, discuss the staffing of the Presidency, though it is often asserted nowadays that the so-called

"palace guard" exercises an undue and somewhat irresponsible influence. A study of this situation by Professor Corwin, and his recommendations as to the remedy for any existing organizational defects he found, would be a major contribution to political science.

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

All This and Kohler Too

Our Human Rights: A Study in the Art of Persuasion, by Rebecca Chalmers Barton. 102 pp. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. $2.50

Wisconsin legislators balked, back in 1948, at an appropriation for a Governor's Commission on Human Rights. Wisconsin, they argued, with a population of less than three and a half million (less than one per cent nonwhite) could leave this problem to its churches, schools and private organizations. The new Director of the Commission, which up to then had existed only on paper, held that it could be made a state-oriented agency, beyond racial-religious influences, and could draw up a preventive, constructive program for *all* citizens. The purse strings were, accordingly, loosened, and today it costs Wisconsin taxpayers a mere penny "to make Wisconsin a better place in which to live for representatives of all races, creeds, groups, organizations and fields of endeavor."

The new Director in due course became author of this book. She believes that "nobody who exposes himself to the great minds of every country and race can long remain insular." Though not academically trained in sociology, she did study comparative literature, both here and abroad, and it provided the context in which her dedication to brotherhood burgeoned. In Denmark, where she and her husband taught for seven years at an international college, they were profoundly impressed by their prize pupils, who were American Negroes. Inevitably, given this broad experience, she emerged "with an international, intercultural and intergroup point of view."

This book, and apparently the Commission also, appeal for the kind of change in social relations that will enable society to outgrow its "suicidal pattern of prejudice and discrimination." Prejudice, the author holds, is subject to persuasion through *education,* which may or may not mean she disapproves of organizations that seek to solve problems of racial and religious tension via statutes with "teeth" in them.

Not that this human rights agency is entirely above legal dentures, the reader early notes. There is a cooperative Attorney General who can always be counted on to take appropriate action. A Wisconsin law of 1895, making it an offense punishable by fine and/or imprisonment to refuse equal treatment in public places of accommodation and amusement, is the Commission's bulwark; and it was bolstered in 1951, upon Mrs. Barton's recommendation, by an amendment banning discriminatory advertising. And the Governor, unlike his predecessors, has taken positive action enabling the whole program "to come of age."

Still, the Wisconsin social engineers strive to keep within an educational framework, relying mainly on the written and spoken word, mediating in alleged discrimination cases, initiating youth activities and "participating in nation-wide efforts to implement American democracy at home and abroad." Mrs. Barton feels that "dear enemies" among realtors, resort owners, employers of farm migrants, barbers, necessarily become dear friends upon comprehending her state agency's concern for their financial problems; in collisions with them, she says, it was mostly a matter of convincing the recalcitrants that they could make money out of behaving themselves.

The Wisconsin press has given kind and lavish coverage to the Commission's objectives. Some papers even play favorites. For example: "The *Milwaukee Journal* never fails to keep up with resort area developments."

The human rights experts make a total of 150 speeches annually throughout the state. The book gives no hint that their orators have attempted to "persuade" Walter Reuther to make Kohler, Wisconsin, a "better place in which to live"—or at least work for a living.

PATRICIA McDONOUGH

Neatly Paradoxical

Alternating Current, by Frederik Pohl. 154 pp. New York: Ballantine Books. $2.00; paper, $0.35

Citizen in Space, by Robert Sheckley. 200 pp. New York: Ballantine Books. $2.00; paper, $0.35

Frederick Pohl is one of the ablest of the established writers of science fiction. With C. M. Kornbluth, he is the author of two competent SF novels: *The Space Merchants* and *Gladiator-at-Law. Alternating Current* is a collection of his most recent short stories, and they are a fair sampling of his range. He applies the method of "extrapolation," common to all the SF authors, both to physical science (space travel, electronics) and—with special verve—to business and social organization.

Two stories of this new collection are, like *The Space Merchants,* projections of the advertising industry, about which Mr. Pohl is considerably more serious than the much touted "business novelists." His account of a girl used as a "memory bank" to store astronautical data too complicated for the electronic computers is neatly paradoxical.

Robert Sheckley is younger and more callow, but not without promise. *Citizen in Space* collects twelve of his stories. Several are rather fantasy (sorcery, witchcraft, but without horror) than straight SF. In a couple of the stories he gets bogged down in the mushy leftism that curses a good deal of "sociological" SF. But his narrative of an anarchist utopia, in "A Ticket to Tranai," is charmingly witty.

J.B.

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To the Editor

Mr. Schlamm on O'Neill

I think I have read all the reviews of, and articles on, O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night* that have appeared in English. Mr. Schlamm's [April 18] seems to be the sole honest judgment in the lot. Certainly no other critic has revealed why he thinks the "mess" is tragedy, whereas Mr. Schlamm stated very clearly why it is not. . . . It is of particular significance that Mr. Schlamm says the play shows neither deep pity nor understanding nor forgiveness. It seems to me that O'Neill was so involved in the wrongs done *to* him that he could not . . . deeply appreciate the human condition . . . more sinning than sinned against. . . .

St. Louis, Mo. ELSIE BOWN

The ACLU's Position

IN NATIONAL REVIEW's recent article on the controversy between the Treasury Department and the *Daily Worker* ["The Daily Worker Finds Friends," April 18], . . . you quoted an *Editor and Publisher* editorial chiding the American Civil Liberties Union for criticizing the T-men's raid against the *Worker* but not bothering to protest the closing down of several other newspapers in recent years. . . . when tax obligations could not be met. . . .

The ACLU had no knowledge of the Treasury's action against the newspapers closed in Alaska, California, Illinois, Mississippi and Oregon—their cases did not receive as wide publicity as the *Worker's*—but we are checking the facts immediately with the Treasury Department. And because we are interested only in civil liberties . . . if we find that these papers were harassed by the government, we will protest as vigorously as we did in the *Worker* case.

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN
Executive Director,
American Civil Liberties Union
New York City

Fluoridation

Priscilla L. Buckley's "Freedom from Fluoridation" [May 9] is the sanest and most sensible approach to the usually over-emoted controversy that I have ever read. "All we want is the facts, ma'am." And that's what she gave us.

. . . in my own state of Illinois, our Governor vetoed a bill not many months ago which would have given the citizens a referendum on fluoridation. His reason? He did not think the people of Illinois understood the issue well enough to vote intelligently on it. . . . The result? We are getting it whether we want it or not.

I intend to buy bottled water for my family . . . until the use of fluorides in human consumption of drinking water can be proved harmless over the long haul. . . . Can we take this added expense off our income tax?

Park Ridge, Ill. BEA VON BOESELAGER

I would like to compliment you on the very good article "Freedom from Fluoridation." We have just gone through the process of voting fluoridation down in Syracuse.

I think that the most dangerous part of the fluoridation issue is that the proponents have so convinced the House of Representatives that it is good and necessary that they have appropriated another $3 million to the National Institute of Dental Health to sell fluoridation throughout the United States. . . .

Syracuse, N.Y. MARJORIE MCHALE

Mr. Meyer's Approach

I very much resent Mr. Len Brewster's application [letter, May 9] of the term "rubbish" to anything Frank S. Meyer has ever written. . . .

In these faddishly superficial times, the integrity of Mr. Meyer's approach to many complicated subjects is a joy to contemplate. To follow him is often a healthy exercise of mind and conscience, but there is always the rewarding happy landing on the platform of honest belief and principle, "moral doctrine," and a recognition that principle has not "become fanaticism" nor "expediency a virtue." One also gathers that while the world is necessarily progressive, all change is not progress. . . .

Forest Hills, N.Y. M. N. BONBRAKE

Jabs at the Left

. . . Of course, you can't remember the days when the leftists were the "outs" and when they trained their pens on capitalism. The words of many of them . . . drew blood. They ripped into capitalist institutions as though they meant to destroy them. They did, except for a few hollow shells. Your writers jab at the entrenched left as though they were afraid of raising a welt.

Chicago, Ill. RENA M. VALE

Hopes Surpassed

When we first heard of NATIONAL REVIEW, we looked forward with great anticipation to your first issue. We were acquainted with many of your associates through other publications. We wished you well before a single word was printed . . . we were prejudiced in your favor. You have far surpassed our hopes and best wishes for NATIONAL REVIEW.

KATHLEEN and WALTER REGAN
New York City

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SIDNEY HOOK, Chairman, Dept. of Philosophy, N.Y.U.
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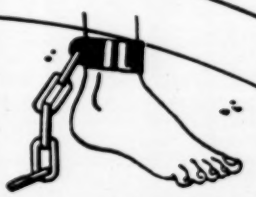
How far along the way is America?

. . . it's not too late to stop the clock!



1. The people go from **CHAINS** *to spiritual faith*

2. From **SPIRITUAL FAITH** *to courage*

3. From **COURAGE** *to liberty*

4. From **LIBERTY** *to abundance*

5. From **ABUNDANCE** *to selfishness*

6. From **SELFISHNESS** *to complacency*

7. From **COMPLACENCY** *to apathy*

8. From **APATHY** *to dependency*

9. From **DEPENDENCY** *back again to bondage*

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